

Message Text

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FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8104

INFO AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

AMCONSUL ZAGREB

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BELGRADE 6135

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, YO, RO

SUBJECT: CEAUSESCU VISIT TO YUGOSLAVIA

1. SUMMARY: OUR PRELIMINARY ESTIMATE IS THAT CEAUSESCU'S FOUR-DAY VISIT TO YUGOSLAVIA WENT WELL FOR BOTH SIDES. AS EXPECTED, VISIT IS BEING HERALDED HERE AS GREAT SUCCESS AND FURTHER STIMULUS TO CONTINUATION OF THE GOOD BILATERAL RELATIONS ENJOYED BY YUGOSLAVIA AND ROMANIA. TITO IS QUOTED AS TELLING PRESS, "RARELY HAVE TALKS AND UNDERSTANDINGS PROCEEDED SO EASILY AND SMOOTHLY AS THIS TIME BETWEEN US AND ROMANIAN COMRADES." BOTH A COMMUNIQUE AND LENGTHY JOINT STATEMENT WERE ISSUED AND APPEAR MORE SUBSTANTIVE THAN LAST TITO-CEAUSESCU COMMUNIQUE (1974). SEVERAL AGREEMENTS REPORTEDLY WERE SIGNED INCLUDING INTER ALIA ONE PROVIDING FOR EXPANSION OF EXPLOITATION OF DANUBE'S HYDRO-ELECTRIC POTENTIAL. JOINT STATEMENT CARRIES SUPPORT FOR MAY POSITIONS WHICH THE YUGOSLAVS ARE PROMOTING THESE DAYS: BELGRADE 1977 CSCE FOLLOWUP; LINKAGE OF MEDITERRANEAN WITH CSCE; IMPORTANCE OF NAM AND COLOMBO MEETING; UN SPECIAL
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SESSION ON DISARMAMENT; AND STRICT OBSERVANCE FOR EQUALITY

AND SOVEREIGN INDEPENDENCE OF EACH COMMUNIST PARTY AND NON-INTERFERENCE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS BASED ON THE ECPC.
END SUMMARY.

2. VISIT BY ROMANIAN PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU AND WIFE TO YUGOSLAVIA, SEPTEMBER 8-11, WAS FIRST OFFICIAL VISIT EXCHANGED BETWEEN CEAUSESCU AND TITO SINCE LATTER'S TRIP TO BUCHAREST IN JULY 1974. BOTH OF COURSE WERE TOGETHER IN HELSINKI FOR CSCE AND BERLIN FOR ECPC, BUT CEAUSESCU'S ORIGINALLY SCHEDULED TRIP OF ONE YEAR AGO WAS UNEXPLAINEDLY CANCELLED AT LAST MOMENT (POSSIBLY BECAUSE OF CEAUSESCU'S PIQUE AT PROSPECT THAT TITO, ON HIS PHYSICIAN'S ADVICE, WOULD NOT BE AT AIRPORT RECEPTION). THIS TIME, CEAUSESCU ARRIVED AT LJUBLJANA AIRPORT, WHERE TITO MET HIM, AND STAYED WITH TITO IN SLOVENIA UNTIL SEPT 10, WHEN THE TWO FLEW TO BELGRADE. CEAUSESCU DEPARTED BY CAR FOR ROMANIA SEPT 11 ACCOMPANIED TO THE BORDER BY LCY EXECUTIVE SECRETARY DOLANC.

3. YUGOSLAV MEDIA COVERAGE WAS EXTENSIVE AND CONTINUES TO CARRY FAVORABLE FOREIGN PRESS REACTION AND DOMESTIC COMMENTARIES. COVERAGE OBVIOUSLY WAS DESIGNED TO ILLUSTRATE GOOD STATE OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES AND LEADERS. THE TOASTS SEEMED WARM AND THE SOMEWHAT UNUSUAL MEASURE OF ISSUING BOTH A COMMUNIQUE AND A JOINT STATEMENT MAY HAVE BEEN TAKEN TO STRESS DEGREE OF SUCCESS BOTH SIDES FELT VISIT ACHIEVED.

4. JOINT STATEMENT IS A MORE COMPREHENSIVE DOCUMENT THAN THE COMMUNIQUE WHICH ACCOMPANIED THE 1974 MEETING. IN WHAT IS BECOMING A TREND, BOTH SIDES REAFFIRM RESOLVE TO DEVELOP THEIR RELATIONS WITH OTHER STATES ON THE BASIS OF CSCE FINAL ACT AS WELL AS TRADITIONAL UN CHARTER. THEY AFFIRM CSCE'S POSITIVE INFLUENCE ON STABILIZATION OF RELATIONS IN EUROPE BUT NOT "THAT INSUFFICIENT TANGIBLE STEPS HAVE BEEN TAKEN TOWARDS SOLVING EXISTING COMPLEX EUROPEAN PROBLEMS." BELGRADE 77 IS GIVEN A BOOS, AS ARE CSCE LINKAGE WITH THE MEDITERRANEAN AND THE "NEED FOR ACTIVE ENGAGEMENT AND COMPREHENSIVE PREPARATIONS PRIOR TO THE BELGRADE MEETING."

5. JOINT STATEMENT STRESSES THE "ESPECIALLY GREAT
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SIGNIFICANCE TO WORLD PEACE" OF THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT. ROMANIA'S INTEREST IN PARTICIPATING IN NAM AFFAIRS IS RECOGNIZED BY WELCOMING THE NAM'S "OPENNESS AND INTEREST IN DEVELOPING RELATIONS WITH ALL FORCES STRIVING FOR PEACE AND PROGRESS." THE TWO SIDES ALSO "STRESS THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STRUGGLE TO CREATE A NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER." ON THE LIST OF NON-ALIGNED ENEMIES ARE "IMPERIALISM, COLONIALISM, NEO-COLONIALISM, AND ALL FORMS OF FOREIGN

DOMINATION AND EXPLOITATION." "HEGEMONISM" IS NOT INCLUDED
HERE OR IN ANY OTHER "ENEMIES LISTS" IN THE STATEMENT,
ALTHOUGH IT WAS INCLUDED IN THE 1974 COMMUNIQUE.

6 MIDDLE EAST PORTION OF JOING STATEMENT CONTAINS
INTERESTING SUPPLEMENT TO STANDARD LANGUAGE EMPLOYED TWO
YEARS AGO. IN CALLING FOR ESTORATION OF "LEGITIMATE NATIONAL
RIGHTS OF THE ARAB PEOPLE OF PALESTINE, INCLUDING THE RIGHT
TO AN INDEPENDENT STATE," JOINT STATEMENT ADDS "AND ON THE
BASIS OF ENSURING INDEPENDENCE AND SECURITY OF ALL NATIONS
AND COUNTRIES OF THE REGION." ON LEBANON, STATEMENT SAYS
"DOMESTIC FORCES SHOULD THROUGH POLITICAL NEGOTIATIONS REACH
A SOLUTION...WITHOUT FOREIGN INTERFERENCE."

7. ON KOREA, IN ADDITION TO CONFIRMING SUPPORT FOR
NORTH KOREA'S "EFFORTS TO UNIFY THE COUNTRY PEACEFULLY,
WITHOUT FOREIGN INTERFERENCE," STATEMENT ADDS "SUPPORT" FOR
NORTH KOREAN "DEMANDS FOR ABOLITION OF THE SO-CALLED UN COMMAND
AND WITHDRAWAL OF ALL FOREIGN TROOPS FROM SOUTH KOREA."

8. "THE HISTORIC VICTORY" OF VIETNAM, CAMBODIA AND LAOS IS
"WELCOMED WITH GREAT SATISFACTION" AND THE "VICTORY" OF
MOZAMBIQUE, ANGOLA, GUINEA-BISSAU, THE CAPE VERDE ISLANDS,
AND PRINCIPE AND SAO TOME IS "WELCOMED." IN THIS
CONNECTION, "THE FURTHER RESOLUTE STRUGGLE...AGAINST
IMPERIALISM, COLONIALISM, RACISM, APARTHEID, AND ALL OTHER
FORMS OF DOMINATION AND EXPLOITATION" IS CONSIDERED "NECESSARY."

9. DISARMAMENT IS GIVEN CONSIDERABLE ATTENTION IN THE

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 BELGRADE 6135

JOINT STATEMENT AND TITO'S PROPOSAL TO CONVENE A UN SPECIAL
SESSION ON DISARMAMENT RECEIVES "DECISIVE SUPPORT."

10. THE LARGEST SECTION BY FAR IS THAT ON COMMUNIST PARTY
RELATIONS. THE TWO PRESIDENTS CONSIDER THE REQUIREMENT
FOR "NEW FORMS AND CONTENT OF COOPERATION" BECAUSE
OF THE "WIDE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALISM,...DIFFERENT CON-
DITIONS,... A GREAT VARIETY OF FORMS, AND DIFFERENT
PATHS." THIS "COOPERATION MUST BE BASED ON PRINCIPLES
OF FULL INDEPENDENCE IN INTERNAL AND FOREIGN POLICY, A
MUTUAL RESPECT FOR INTERESTS, NON-INTERFERENCE IN INTERNAL
AFFAIRS, AND A FREE CHOICE OF PATHS." THE TWO SIDES
CONSIDER THAT "DIFFERENCES AMONG INDIVIDUAL PARTIES ARE
NATURAL AND REPRESENT AN OBJECTIVE REALITY," AND CALL
FOR "PROMOTION OF DIALOGUES AND EXCHANGES OF THOUGHTS
AMONG COMMUNIST AND WORKERS PARTIES, WITHOUT RECRIMI-
NATIONS." TERMING THE ECPC "A SIGNIFICANT POLITICAL
EVENT", THE STATEMENT SAYS ECPC REAFFIRMED PRINCIPLES OF
RELATIONS AND COOPERATION "AMONG WHICH WAS STRICT
OBSERVANCE OF THE EQUALITY AND SOVEREIGN INDEPENDENCE OF
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EACH PARTY, NON-INTERFERENCE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS, THE
RIGHT OF EACH PARTY TO FREELY CHOOSE THE ROAD OF STRUGGLE
FOR PROGRESSIVE SOCIAL TRANSFORMATIONS AND SOCIALISM."
ALSO CALLED FOR IS COOPERATION WITH "THE PROGRESSIVE
FORCES OF DEVELOPED AND DEVELOPING COUNTRIES IN THE
STRUGGLE AGAINST ALL FORMS OF COLONIALISM, NEO-COLONIALISM,
IMPERIALISM, AND ALL FORMS OF DOMINATION AND EXPLOITA-
TION."

11. JOINT STATEMENT DEVOTES CONSIDERABLY LESS SPACE TO
ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF YUGOSLAV-ROMANIAN RELATIONS, BUT
TESTIFIES TO GENERALLY GOOD STATE OF COOPERATION
THAT EXISTS IN THIS FIELD. COMMUNIQUE NOTES TWO AGREE-
MENTS SIGNED REGARDING COOPERATIVE USE OF DANUBE: ONE
BETWEEN TITO AND CEASUDESCU ON EXPANDING COOPERATION ON
USE OF DANUBE'S HYDRO-ELECTRIC POTENTIAL; AND SECOND
BETWEEN PRIMINS BIJEDIC AND MANESCU "ON AMENDMENTS AND
SUPPLEMENTS OF AGREEMENT ON CONSTRUCTING AND EXPLOITING
HYDRO-ELECTRIC AND NAVIGATIONAL SYSTEM ON THE DANUBE."

WITH NO FURTHER DETAILS OFFERED AND NOT HAVING TEXTS OF AGREEMENTS, WE ARE UNABLE TO JUDGE NOW WHETHER THESE MERELY CONSTITUTE FORMAL SIGNATURE OF PREVIOUSLY REACHED AGREEMENTS (I.E. DJERDAP II) OR INAUGURATE NEW STEP IN THEIR JOINT DEVELOPMENT OF DANUBE SYSTEM. AGREEMENTS ALSO WERE REPORTEDLY REACHED ON HEAVY MACHINE TOOL AND CHEMICAL JOINT PRODUCTION AND ON COOPERATION IN SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH AND TECHNOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT.

12. "NATIONAL MINORITIES" QUESTION IS MENTIONED AGAIN, AS IT WAS IN 1974. EACH SIDE RECOGNIZES THE "INTERNAL" RESPONSIBILITY OF THE OTHER FOR SOLVING NATIONALITY QUESTIONS WITHIN ITS BORDERS.

13. COMMENT: BY ALL APPEARANCES, VISIT WENT EXTREMELY WELL FOR BOTH SIDES--ALTHOUGH WE RESERVE FINAL JUDGMENT UNTIL WE HAVE HAD CHANCE TO TALK WITH YUGOSLAVS AND ROMANIANS INVOLVED. ECONOMIC COOPERATION APPARENTLY WAS INCREASED. PERHAPS MORE IMPORTANT FROM GOY'S VIEWPOINT, JOINT STATEMENT IS A POSITIVE TESTAMENT TO ITS POSITIONS ON SEVERAL KEY INTERNATIONAL ISSUES, PARTICULARLY ON CP RELATIONS. THE LENGTHY PORTIONS OF THE JOINT STATEMENT

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DEVOTED TO THE LATTER IS EVIDENCE OF YUGOSLAVIA'S (AND PERHAPS ROMANIA'S) INTENTION TO REMAIN IDEOLOGICALLY INDEPENDENT FROM SOVIET ATTEMPTS AT DOMINANCE AND THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT. WHEN CONSIDERED IN LIGHT OF CEAUSESCU'S TRIP TO MOLDAVIA AND MEETING WITH BREZHNEV AND ROMANIAN PUBLIC ADHERENCE TO "PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM," THIS PORTION OF THE JOINT STATEMENT COULD BE READ AS ROMANIA'S EFFORT TO STRIKE ITS OWN AUTONOMOUS NOTE, BOTH DIRECTLY AND IN SYMPATHY WITH YUGOSLAVIA. "HEGEMONISM" AS AN ANATHEMA IS CONSPICUOUSLY MISSING FROM THE DOCUMENT AND COULD HAVE BEEN A CONCESSION TO BREZHNEV BY CEAUSESCU, DURING THIS ROMANIAN-SOVIET "WARMING" TREND (AND PERHAPS EVEN ONE OF TITO'S CONCESSIONS TO BREZHNEV DURING THEIR PRESENT DETENTE). HOWEVER, ITS ABSENCE MAY HAVE BEEN BALANCED BY SEVERAL REFERENCES TO "ALL OTHER FORMS OF FOREIGN DOMINATION AND EXPLOITATION."

14. ON VISIT'S LAST TWO DAYS, THREE SEPARATE INCIDENTS AFFECTING YUGOSLAVIA RECEIVED CONSIDERABLE INTERNATIONAL ATTENTION AND OVERSHADOWED THE VISIT. AIR CRASH NEAR ZAGREB OCCURRED HOURS AFTER TITO AND CEAUSESCU LEFT SLOVENIA FOR BELGRADE. SECOND DEVELOPMENT WAS THE YUGOSLAV'S REQUEST THAT GISCARD POSTPONE HIS IMPENDING VISIT, PLEADING TITO'S ILL HEALTH AS THE REASON. (HINTS REPORTEDLY-MADE TO CEAUSESCU ABOUT REDUCING TITO'S INVOLVEMENT IN HIS VISIT TO WHICH CEAUSESCU SUPPOSEDLY

TURNED DEAF EAR. HOWEVER, ROMANIAN COUNSELOR (AVRAM)
INSISTED TO UK COUNSELOR THAT CEAUSESCU REPEATEDLY
BUT UNSUCCESSFULLY TRIED TO GET TITO TO SLOW THE PACE.
AVRAM SAID TITO DID IN FACT FURTHER RESTRICT HIS DIET
DURING VISIT.) THE YUGOSLAVS DID NOT ANNOUNCE THE
GISCARD POSTPONEMENT HERE UNTIL AFTER CEAUSESCU DEPARTED.
THIRD DEVELOPMENT WAS THE CROATIAN SKYJACKING. ANY OF
THESE INDIVIDUALLY WOULD HAVE FRUSTRATED YUGOSLAVS
ESPECIALLY AT THIS TIME, BUT THE THREE TAKEN TOGETHER,
AND LEADING MOST FOREIGN NEWSCASTS, MUST HAVE SEEMED LIKE
A PLOT. OF COURSE FACT TERRORIST CARLOS WAS HERE AT SAME
TIME AND ALLOWED TO MOVE AROUND FREELY BY GOY MAY HAVE
MADE ROMANIAN SECURITY SMELL A PLOT, ESPECIALLY GIVEN
RUMORS OF CARLOS' TIES TO SOVIET UNION.

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